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# SPECIAL MEMORANDUM

FORMER CPSU FUNCTIONARY TELLS OF SOVIET LEADERSHIP INTRIGUES

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## FORMER CPSU FUNCTIONARY TELLS OF SOVIET LEADERSHIP INTRIGUES

*This special memorandum is based primarily on Western media sources specializing in Soviet affairs, supplemented with material from the Soviet media.*

Since last fall, four separate interviews and articles appearing in the West have provided interesting insights into the operations of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus, intrigues in the Soviet party leadership, and the purge of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Concrete Social Research. Identified first by the obvious pseudonym "A. Pravdin" and later the surname "Zemtsov," the articles provide biographical details and other information which indicate that they are indeed the work of one man, a former official of the CPSU Central Committee who emigrated to Israel in 1973.

+ An interview on the Central Committee apparatus with an "A. Pravdin," identified as an official of the Central Committee's information sector from 1969 to 1972, appeared in the autumn 1974 issue of the British publication SURVEY.

+ An article on the Soviet intelligentsia by an "I. Zemtsov," identified as a recently emigrated professor of sociology and philosophy, appeared in the West German Russian emigre journal POSEV in February 1975.

+ Radio Liberty on 7 March 1975 published a Russian-language interview with "I.G. Zemtsov" on a variety of subjects, identifying him as a former head of the information sector of the Azerbaydzhan Central Committee, dean of a faculty of industrial organizers, head of a department in the Institute of Social Research, member of the editorial collegium of the journal INFORMATION BULLETIN ON SOCIOLOGY, and member of the Academy of Sciences' sociological association, prior to his emigration to Israel in 1973.

+ A long, incisive English-language essay on Soviet youth and its alienation based on classified Soviet sociological studies authored by sociologist "Ilya Zemtsov" was published by Radio Liberty on 21 March 1975.

### CAREER DETAILS

A comparison of statements in the aforementioned articles and corroborative material in Soviet press sources provide a composite picture of Zemtsov's career, the intrigues involving the Institute of Concrete Social Research, and actions of various Soviet political leaders.

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Zemtsov rose to high-level party work as a protege of Azerbaydzhan First Secretary G.A. Aliyev, held a leading post in the Institute of Concrete Social Research, and had opportunities to talk with a number of prominent figures. Zemtsov states that in 1969 he was head of the information sector of a gorkom in Azerbaydzhan, and as the only sociologist with a doctorate in the area, he attracted the attention of Azerbaydzhan First Secretary Aliyev. Azerbaydzhan KGB chief Aliyev had just become republic party first secretary in mid-1969 and was looking for new cadres to help him purge the thoroughly corrupt republic party organization. In the summer of 1969 Aliyev asked Zemtsov to become head of the Azerbaydzhan Central Committee's information sector. Zemtsov declares that he accepted the post, eager to join Aliyev's campaign to fight local corruption and reestablish legality in Azerbaydzhan.

In the SURVEY article Zemtsov relates that only six months later, at the end of 1969, Aliyev recommended him for work in the CPSU Central Committee information sector and that he then moved to Moscow as an instructor in this sector. He makes the interesting claim that at the end of 1969 there were plans to make Aliyev CPSU Central Committee cadres secretary, but that this was blocked later because of a dispute between Aliyev and Kirilenko. (Such an advancement for Aliyev would seem dubious, since he had only recently become Azerbaydzhan leader, was a career KGB officer, and was not Slavic.) Zemtsov explains that his own shift to Moscow was intended to place an "Aliyev man" in the apparatus Aliyev expected to take over.

In his SURVEY article he explains the history and functions of the information sector, as well as describing other parts of the apparatus. His sector was created in December 1962 in the Central Committee science section; in February 1966 it was placed under both the science section and the propaganda section. It analyzed information from lower party organizations, organized studies of opinion in party organizations, and studied the effectiveness of various types of party work. In 1968 its functions were expanded to provide analytical material for Brezhnev's advisers and speechwriters. According to Soviet press sources, an A.A. Belyakov headed the sector of party information from at least April 1967 to late 1971; however, the Soviet press lists this sector as part of the party organizational work section. Zemtsov relates that the sector's freedom of action was severely curtailed after a November 1971 party decree "On the Mistakes in the Analysis and Collection of Facts by the Information Sector." It is possible that this decree was related to the subsequent disappearance of Belyakov's name from the press; no one was identified as sector head until September 1974, when longtime deputy head I.A. Shvets was so listed. Zemtsov's defection may also have contributed to the sector's difficulties.

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Zemtsov states that he got the chance to leave the sector in 1972, when the Politburo created special faculties for training industrial managers in Baku, Leningrad, Kharkov and Novosibirsk. Aliyev, for whom Zemtsov still worked as ghost writer, recommended Zemtsov for this work and he became a dean of one of these faculties, presumably in Baku.

Zemtsov apparently worked as head of a department at the Institute of Concrete Social Research while he was also a Central Committee instructor. Although the accounts do not specify the time period, it presumably was while A.M. Rumyantsev was institute director. The sociological studies Zemtsov writes about cover the 1969-71 period.

#### DISAFFECTION AND EMIGRATION

In his 7 March Radio Liberty interview Zemtsov declared that he became disaffected in November 1968 because of the invasion of Czechoslovakia, but it was not until the end of 1972 that he applied for permission to emigrate. Oddly, he apparently was soon allowed to leave despite his sensitive position in the Central Committee and the fact that, as he relates in the SURVEY article, the Institute of Concrete Social Research had some secret departments and "was considered to be an institute of significance for national defense."

One of the main factors convincing Zemtsov to emigrate obviously was the persecution of prominent sociologists and philosophers which he witnessed in 1970-72. His writings stress the impossibility of conducting scientific research under conditions of such tight party control. To illustrate this point, he relates a number of brief stories about tension between top party officials and sociologists and philosophers, and he describes outbursts of frustration by such prominent intellectuals as Stalin-era writer Ilya Ehrenburg, Academy of Sciences Vice President M.A. Lavrentyev and Institute of Philosophy director P.V. Kopnin.

In the 7 March Radio Liberty interview he tells of being at the bedside of the dying director of the Institute of Philosophy, P.V. Kopnin. A relatively young philosopher, the 46-year old Kopnin had risen to director in 1968 during the removal of several old Stalinist philosophers from positions of authority, but he died only three years later, in June 1971. Although Kopnin was never under public attack and presumably was loyal to the regime, Zemtsov states that he was being persecuted by various philosophers at the instigation of the KGB shortly before his death, and that on his deathbed Kopnin declared: "I don't want to live. I can't. It is sickening to bow before fools and scoundrels. I'm tired of going around on my knees."

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Zemtsov describes the intense desire of party officials to acquire academic titles and especially Academy of Sciences membership, and he also notes that politicians often are shunted into academic work as a sinecure or for semi-retirement. He reports that Academy of Sciences Vice President Lavrentyev bitterly complained that there are more party officials in the academy than scholars and that science was being turned into a garbage dump "for party refuse." According to Zemtsov, Academy of Sciences members vented their frustrations by refusing to elect as academicians such people as neo-Stalinist head of the Central Committee science section S.P. Trapeznikov and Kosygin's son-in-law D.M. Gvishiani.

#### PURGE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Most of Zemtsov's revelations relate to the purge of the Institute of Concrete Social Research, and his remarks shed some additional light on the intrigues against the institute.

The basic facts, as gleaned from the Soviet press, are as follows: In 1971 liberal academician A.M. Rumyantsev, long a target of conservatives, was finally removed as Academy of Sciences vice president and as director of the institute. One of his conservative critics, M.N. Rutkevich, was soon appointed director and was permitted to purge and reorient the institute. He changed its name to the Institute of Sociological Research and assailed the pragmatic, Western-oriented approach used at the institute under Rumyantsev. Such acknowledged liberals as deputy director F.M. Burlatskiy and sector head G. Lisichkin were driven out, and liberal deputy director G.V. Osipov was demoted to head of a sector. Rumyantsev, Burlatskiy and Osipov had been the original inspirers and organizers of the institute in 1968. Rutkevich brought in new men, such as V.S. Semenov, head of the scientific communism department of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, to help him purge the institute.

Remarks by Zemtsov spotlight some of the actions by the party's ideological leaders and watchdogs against Rumyantsev and his fellow liberals at the institute. In his POSEV article he tells of Rumyantsev, apparently in late 1970, writing to the Politburo to save his association of social forecasting, but being overruled by Suslov. Rumyantsev argued that valuable scholars should be indulged if their transgressions are minor, but Suslov declared: "You don't argue with foes, you beat them, and if necessary, destroy them."

In his SURVEY article, Zemtsov states that this social forecasting association created by Rumyantsev in the Academy of Sciences was opposed by head of the philosophy sector in Trapeznikov's Central

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Committee section, N.V. Piliipenko. Trapeznikov allegedly persuaded Central Committee Ideology Secretary Demichev to overrule Rumyantsev. In his Radio Liberty interview and POSEV article Zemtsov declared that Piliipenko had laid down a rule that philosophers or sociologists should be driven out of science and stripped of their scientific degrees if expelled from the party, while if only censured they should not be permitted to go abroad. The liberal Osipov, a member of the executive committee of the World Sociological Association, was not permitted to go to Germany to attend a session of this committee after being censured.

Later it turned out that Semenov, who had replaced Osipov as deputy director of the institute, had fabricated a letter to the World Sociological Association and had forged Osipov's signature on it. According to Zemtsov, this letter had been inspired by G.G. Kvasov, an instructor in Trapeznikov's section. In his SURVEY article Zemtsov declares that the obscure Kvasov was one of the candidates to succeed Rumyantsev as institute director. According to press sources, Kvasov was only a teacher of philosophy at the Kishinev agricultural institute in the early 1960's. Trapeznikov, also from Moldavia, apparently brought him into the science section in the late 1960's.

Zemtsov also reveals that Osipov and institute sector heads O.I. Shkaratan and I.V. Bestuzhev-Lada, as well as Yu. A. Levada (who was pilloried in public by Rutkevich), were forced to confess to nonexistent mistakes, apparently during Rutkevich's purge. According to Zemtsov, the persecuted liberal Osipov is a frequent ghost writer for Kosygin's son-in-law Gvishiani, deputy chairman of the State Committee on Science and Technology.

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